One might well regard such immoderate claims as the response to a breakdown in the social exchange relationship. According to model 17, increased rights over land should mediate an *increased* quasi-filial allegiance, implying an increased willingness to aid and share with maternal relatives. Such, however, was rarely in evidence. On the contrary, most coffee-growers, engrossed in the new task of growing coffee, tended to ease up on their family obligations, gave fewer feasts and were apt to neglect their maternal relatives. This was especially so because Church influence reduced the scope of initiation ceremonial which is one of the traditional key functions of the maternal family. Certainly the maternal family hardly shares at all, under normal circumstances, in the increased wealth generated by coffee-growing. Thus the uterine landowner feels relatively alienated from his affluent nephew.

In order to demonstrate the importance of quasi-filial allegiance as a factor in land transactions, I shall cite one case, again from Inonda, where coffee gardens are being run profitably on land over which the grower holds only 'permissive' rights. The three coffee gardens established in 1955, and still harvested in 1967, are on land owned by the Endehi'undi clan but relinquished after a defeat in war. It has been used by Andiriha of Inonda since 1915. When Inonda people started to grow coffee, Endehi'undi reclaimed this land. Inonda paid $32 in cash, as well as pigs, traditional valuables and taro, in other words, a very substantial consideration (Crocombe and Hogbin *ibid.*: 73) After a few years, as Andiriha continued to benefit from the coffee, it became obvious that Endehi'undi did not regard this consideration as a *sale* price as Andiriha hoped they would do. They saw it as no more than a proper display of quasi-filial allegiance, and expected this sort of gesture to be repeated, or to recover the land.

The Andiriha leader now invited a widower belonging to the Endehi'undi group to move into his household. The invitation was accepted and in 1967 the old man was still there. There was no further trouble over the coffee although Andiriha did not tempt fate by making further plantings. By Orokaiva legal concepts, the balance was restored. By a shrewd manoeuvre, the Andiriha leader had found a way to offer increased quasi-filial allegiance in such a way that the profit from the coffee gardens was not reduced too much.

Instances of this kind help us to understand what was involved in the Orokaiva system of residual or dual rights over land and dual allegiance owed by individuals to different families from which land useholds are derived. We have long tended to believe that the basic co-operating groups in primitive societies are *corporate* groups. The Orokaiva data presented here show a second possibility: namely a system by which individuals derive their land, and therefore their sustenance, from a cluster of corporate groups in only one of which they are a corporate member, although they maintain permanent exchange relationships with the others. These other corporations do not make them permanent gifts but leave them conditional upon the successful continuation of the relationship. The fact that a man holds land on such terms *forces* him to continue the relationship.

It is impossible, therefore, to say just what constitute 'residual' rights in land. In the example I analysed, it appears that a group's rights include rights to coffee when it lives in another village, but not when a member of that group stays in the house of one of the growers and is fed by that grower's wife. Perhaps the

incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikari*. The men begin to build the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams 1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated (as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes, ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night, people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an *embahi* – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation, indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

824 partners, while objects of mediation are not imaginary and magical, but have a real
772 existence. I shall deal with these two aspects in turn.

3. *Coconut as an Object of Mediation*

824 Coconut has several culinary uses: it is eaten raw; soup is made of the flesh; the
[252] squeezed flesh produces coconut cream in which taro and delicacies such as river
[262] crabs may be cooked. Young coconuts are cut open at the top and used for a
[262] refreshing drink. Coconut is reserved for two kinds of everyday food gift:
[272] cooked dishes offered to guests and young coconut offered to visitors on arrival.
[431] Waddell's figures for coconut transactions are surprisingly low (less than 1 lb. per week disposed of in an average household). In Inonda, where the climate favours the coconut, there has been sporadic commercial exploitation of the nut.

[574] Coconuts are also a feasting food. At ordinary harvest feasts and bridewealth payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other
[262] vegetables. Williams (1930: 44) reports that they used to be placed under a taboo when a large feast was pending. I have already mentioned that at mortuary
[764] feasts they are the principal object of mediation between the plant emblem group of the deceased and the village which has provided services to the deceased at the time of death (See Williams 1930: 223–6). I saw a variant of this ceremony at Hohorita in 1967. The plant emblem groups of the deceased couple provided massive gifts displayed on a platform: feast taro, tins of fish, cartons of flour, corned beef in tins, sugar-cane, pots of cooked vegetable food, small bags of salt, smoked meat, a dead pig suspended from a stick, rice, bread, an abundance of betelnut and carved taro suspended from horizontal poles placed above the platform, while at least 1000 lbs. of coconuts, strung to poles supporting each other diagonally, were seen everywhere among the other gifts.

[262] Coconut is correctly believed to be a valuable adjunct to children's diet, as it
[146] provides first-class protein. The belief is explained by Orokaiva in a myth quoted by Williams (1928: 122) according to which the first child ever to eat a coconut
[231] grew miraculously overnight. Children do eat a good deal of it and it is also fed regularly to dogs and chickens. Orokaiva also regard the effects of coconuts on
[235] dogs as miraculous. As neither dogs nor children have any other substantial supply of first-class protein, the coconut relieves a very real diet deficiency. Whatever religious significance is given to the coconut is related to this.

824 Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body, not only to enhance
778 beauty but also for its magical efficacy. In a ritual performed over a man-slayer, a coconut was broken over his head as a purificatory and 'defensive' device in
[302] the sense that the fluid would drive away dangerous spirits (1930: 175). With
[789] the same end in view, the bodies of female initiands and certain ornaments worn at dances are rubbed with coconut oil (1930: 207). It would appear, in view of
[881] this evidence, that the coconut is in general identified with *ivo* communicated by the dead to the living. The coconuts of a dead leader are thought to contain his *ivo* in a form which is communicable, not to his kinsmen to whom these
[761] coconuts are taboo, but particularly to his affines. The quoted ritual uses of the coconut are all associated with some contact with the world of death, i.e. critical situations in which the living have been in contact with death and need the help
[764] of the dead to obtain *ivo*. While this *ivo* is communicated, through the mediation

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tribes (twelve items), including in his list many *hambo* still in common use. Williams (1930) criticised this account on two grounds: some kinds of *otohu* were regularly conferred upon boys and girls at initiation before they had killed anyone, and most of the items listed by Beaver were in fact conferred on such occasions. While Williams did not rule out the use of homicidal emblems, he thought they should be called *esa* rather than *otohu* and provided a short list of such *esa*, i.e. ornaments given exclusively to man-slayers or to men who had slain a wild pig and presented it to the donor of the *esa*.

Williams reserves the term *otohu* for ritual objects used as symbols for ethical notions central to the Orokaiva world view. He thinks that the *otohu* is best understood in the context of boys' and girls' initiation, as conferment most often occurs at the conclusion of initiation ceremonies. In this chapter I shall first summarise Williams' description of the transfer of *otohu* in initiation, and proceed to add some new information which may lead to a clearer understanding of the nature of the *otohu*.

3. *Williams' Account of the Conferment of Otohu*

Orokaiva initiation ceremonies include four main rituals which are, as Williams reports, not always performed in the same order, but the one ceremony he witnessed occurred in the same order as those described to me by informants:

(1) First, initiands are kept in seclusion for some months. Living in a separate house in semi-darkness, they are well-fed, kept warm with a fire, but must not wash. Williams rightly discounts Chinnery and Beaver's account (1915) that initiands are given detailed instruction of a moral nature at this stage. This was denied by my own informants who had themselves been initiated.

(2) A nocturnal dance occurs during which spirits (*embahi*) appear from the bush, assail and frighten the initiands, but are driven off by the initiands' relatives. Chinnery and Beaver (1915) plausibly suggest that this ferocious scene serves the function of instilling 'absolute and lasting terror in the candidates', of obligating them to their relatives who saved them, and of inducing in them 'a receptive and chastened frame of mind' for the instruction that is to follow. The scene is graphically described by Williams.

(3) The next morning initiands are, for the first time in their lives, dressed up in full dancing regalia, after which they make an impressive début at the village dancing ground. The ritual is known as *kogumbari*. It is performed by an expert whose main concern seems to be with the aesthetics of dressing up, and who lends the initiands feathers and ornaments from his own large store. He stands in no particular kin relationship to the initiand and may even be from a different village. (Fathers are excluded.)

(4) If there is a presentation of *otohu* to initiates[2] this is not part of the initiation ritual as such, which occurs immediately after *kogumbari*. The dressed up initiates are 'shown to the people' and take part in a dance called *kuru*, which is described by Williams (1930: 188). The presentation follows this dance.

It begins with a series of speeches by old warriors (*aguma*) who recite their feats of war, their killing of victims. Initiates sit on a row of sticks laid on the ground ('lest through contact with the ground they run the risk of physical deformity'). The donor of the *otohu* (most often the father or mother's brother)

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881 301 then takes up a position behind the initiate while the *aguma*, standing in front of him, teases him by pretending to offer him the *otohu*. When the initiate stretches out to receive it, the *aguma* snatches it back again. It is tossed over the initiate's head to the man behind him, or to spectators or from one spectator to another. Williams reports:

[577] It is properly at this stage, while the initiate is waiting to receive his ornament, that the *aguma* lays upon him certain injunctions of an ethical character. These are always associated with the *otohu* and, as we shall see, they throw some light on the obscure meaning of the word. As he proffers and withdraws the ornament, the officiating *aguma* exhorts the candidate to refrain from thieving, from adultery, from quarrelling and from such lawless acts as killing a neighbour's dog. (1930: 191)

After describing the ceremony of presentation, Williams turns to the explanation of the word *otohu*. *Otohu*, he says, tend to be regarded as rather beautiful objects but embody a social distinction as well. The wearing of an *otohu* 'implies that the owner has paid a pig (if he acquired it in adulthood), or that it has been paid on his behalf, and thus the ornament has been formally and regularly acquired' (*ibid*. 203). Sometimes the *otohu* is acquired in return for the body of a man, rather than a pig, but Williams finds (unlike Beaver 1920)

> no very essential difference between the 'pig *otohu*' and the 'man *otohu*'. They are of the same nature, but one is bought with the body of a pig and the other with that of a human victim. . . .
> It would appear that the homicidal *otohu* or *esa* was less an *insigne* conferred, *honoris causa*, upon the man-killer as such, than an ordinary *otohu* purchased with the body of his victim. (*ibid.*)

881 577 301 Williams saw that his theory brought him into conflict not only with Beaver's explanation, but also with apparently obvious implications of the ritual of conferment. Why did the *aguma* always recite his own past killings? Does not this indicate an association between *otohu* and man-slaying?

Instead of elucidating this, Williams turns to interesting data on the usages of the word *otohu*. As an adjective, it means: well-behaved, decent, diligent, generous, respectable, set apart, holy. 'An *otohu* man was he who went about his work quietly, who returned from his garden with wood on his shoulder and set it down, then chewed his betel without "rowing".' There is a direct connection, Williams remarks, between the virtues subsumed under the word *otohu* and the injunctions laid upon the initiate by the *aguma*. He concludes that the possession of an *otohu* creates a social obligation, namely to behave in the manner called *otohu*. As for the derivation of the word, Williams has no suggestions to offer except one interesting point: the Baruga, southern neighbours of the Orokaiva, have a word *kortopo* which is used in the sense of *otohu* but *also* in the sense of *hae*.[3] He wonders whether the *otohu*, 'originally', might have been a clan emblem (*ibid*. 206). In addition he reports, but gives no significance to, the fact that the larger of the two flutes used at initiation ceremonies is called *otohu*. The sacred flutes are always played in pairs by two men facing one another. One of the pair (the *otohu*) is larger than the other, which is called *e* (= mother).

4. *Additional Data on* Otohu

Discouragement of initiation ritual by the Anglican mission and the consequent weakening of the institution greatly hampered me in obtaining the additional data needed to clarify Williams' account. Unable to attend any ceremonies, I had to depend almost entirely on interviews. Most adults still own *otohu*. The men usually receive them at initiation, the women either at initiation or, quite often, at the time of marriage. In about half the cases the father was the donor; in most other cases it was the mother's brother. One man who had been elected a member of the Higaturu Local Government Council, was honoured with an *otohu* by his wife's father.

With regard to initiation ritual, the seclusion of boys is no longer practised and the period of seclusion for girls tends to be much shorter than in earlier days. It is, however, rarely shorter than three weeks and sometimes still lasts for some months. The influence of the mission is given as the reason for the changes. When I asked why the modern custom for girls differs from that for boys, I was told that if girls were not secluded and subjected to the full ritual, they would be unable to control their menstrual flow; they would contaminate the village and sicken.

Kogumbari often occurs on the occasion of Christian festivals such as Easter, when the girls, fully dressed up, are 'shown to the people' during a dance on the mission ground. The white missionaries are unaware of the significance of the event. It appears that two ceremonies (puberty seclusion and initiation) to which adolescent girls used to be subjected have been reduced to one, which takes place upon the commencement of menstruation. *Otohu* are bestowed either then or upon marriage.

Boys receive their *otohu* at ceremonies which have become known as 'birthday parties', one of which is fully described by Crocombe (1966). The whole ceremony, including the conferral of *otohu*, usually occurs in a single weekend or at Christmas and a drinking party is sometimes given to the people by the father of the initiand. I never managed to attend one of these occasions but suspect that in many villages the ritual still involves the appearance of *embahi*. I have knowledge of one instance in a village close to Sivepe in 1967.

I was able to obtain additional data, relevant to the puzzle of the nature of the *otohu*, on two main topics: the role of the mother's brother and the role of the *aguma*. According to Orokaiva ideal norms, as stated to Williams (1930: 187) and myself, the mother's brother (*epe*) is the proper relative to perform initiation. This rule, like all others, is frequently broken, but it is worthy of mention that if there is no *epe* available to officiate, there is absolutely no preference for finding a uterine kinsman as a substitute: any other male consanguine is considered suitable, and in fact a father or father's brother often officiates. When Orokaiva informants were asked why mothers' brothers have this special relationship with their nephews, I was always told it is due to the love between the mother and her brother, in other words the *du* relationship. It is definitely not due to any special bond with the matrilineage or maternal patrilineage.

Bestowal of the *otohu* is only one of a series of ritual benefits customarily provided by the *epe*. These benefits take the form of medicines (*sivo*). A man

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604 789 receives certain essential medicines from his father (e.g. for hunting, for planting taro) but other medicines are acquired during adolescence from the person who performs initiation, i.e. ideally the *epe*. These medicines include: ***ba kovari sivo***, a medicine applied to taro leaves when the tubers have filled out and are ready for harvest; ***kakara sivo***, a medicine for success in sex; and ***saruka***, medicines for killing enemies. Though these presentations are entirely separate from the gift of an *otohu* they do indicate what spiritual capacities a man normally derives from his *epe*; the fact that these include the capacity to kill enemies helps us to understand more easily why killing is so strongly emphasised in the ritual of the bestowal of *otohu*.

881 301 604 Nobody has the *right* to receive an *otohu* nor does anyone have an obligation to confer it. It depends in theory on the *epe's* appraisal of the worth of the young initiand and especially on how the latter has behaved towards his/her *epe*. Has the initiand been co-operative, obedient, well-behaved? The questions are rather similar to those asked by Father Christmas. But, like Father Christmas, the *epe* has a prior commitment: to part with his treasure to *someone*: it is in the nature of the *otohu* to be passed on from generation to generation, and ideally it is passed on in the matriline.

881 301 577 When I asked informants about the significance of *otohu*, their replies were in general very close to what Williams had reported: people respect their *otohu* as the concrete embodiment of the moral virtues they regard as most important in life. When I asked for the reasons for this respect, one informant answered: 'I received this *otohu* from my mother's brother who was a good man. My sister has a son now. I want to give this *otohu* to that boy when he has grown big. [778] *That is what makes it otohu* (=holy).' We should note the emphasis the informant placed on the words 'I want to'. He invoked neither obligation nor 'custom' but rather a sense that his *otohu*, by virtue of its inner nature, was destined to be passed on to another initiate. My informant did not consider this a loss to himself, for he said: 'If I want another one, I can always make myself one.'

729 881 The second ritual actor about whom I obtained additional data was the *aguma*. The rite of tantalising the initiate before giving him his *otohu* continues; the term I was given for this rite among the Sangara was *otohu pasari*, the verb *pasari* being also used for catching fish. I was also told about the *aguma's* recital of his war deeds, but this information came from middle-aged men. When these men were initiated, there were still old warriors who could claim a respectable score of killings, but by now most of these old warriors must have died out [266] among the Orokaiva. Profound changes in male initiation ritual have coincided with the dying out of the genuine old cannibals: one might say that one reason why the institution of initiation has been transformed is the absence of persons with the traditional qualifications of the *aguma*. One difference between the modern 'birthday party' and traditional initiation is the greatly reduced emphasis on killing as a capacity bestowed on the initiand.

729 881 628 [754] *Aguma* were usually not from the same village as the initiands. They were generally invited from a village two or three miles distant. In Sivepe, villages such as Isoge and Kendata were quoted to me as suitable places from which to invite an *aguma*; for Hohorita initiations they might come from Bonge or Koipa. The total list of *aguma*-villages as given to me had a striking resemblance to another

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list which I had collected some time previously, namely the villages to which a person would go if he needed the services of a black magician, in other words, if he wished to apply *saruka* against a fellow villager who had injured him. When I pointed out this coincidence to informants they agreed that indeed they were always the same villages, but insisted there was no connection between *aguma* and *saruka embo*.

It is, however, the task of the anthropologist to explore such coincidences even if informants dismiss them as totally insignificant. In this exploration I was assisted by further facts, not noted by Williams, about the social exchange between the initiate and the *aguma*. Before the latter recites his war deeds, he will hand his limepot to the initiate. He then says something like: 'You are holding my limepot. Therefore promise not to beat your wife.' There are a good number of such vows the initiate must take. They no doubt vary a good deal from place to place, but generally cover a wide range of rules of social exchange, of the same type as are listed by Williams and by Chinnery and Beaver (1915: 76). Later, when the *aguma* offers the *otohu*, he does so *on condition* that the initiate keeps his vows. Persons who violate some rule of social behaviour are likely to be warned by fellow-villagers in terms such as: 'You had better be careful – you held the limepot.'

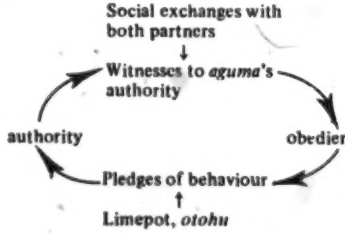
We thus find that *aguma* and sorcerer have something more in common than their provenance from the same set of villages. They are concerned with two interrelated aspects of social control: the *aguma* obtains certain pledges from a person and the sorcerer punishes that person if he breaks his pledges. It is significant that these guardians of moral values live in places which are on the fringe of the universe of friendly social relations maintained by any village. One may visualise this universe in widening concentric circles moving from friendly villages, to sorcery villages, to usually hostile villages. While the usually hostile villages tended to yield an occasional marriage partner obtained through abduction, the sorcery villages represent the outer limit of the area from which a person would ordinarily obtain wives, and therefore affinal and uterine kin.

It has often been remarked that guardians of moral values tend to be situated on the fringe of the social universe (e.g. see Gluckman 1965: 100–1). In view of what we already know of Orokaiva social relations (see model 20), we would expect that the initiand would normally have no direct significant social relations with his *aguma*. Usually his relations, if any, would be through one or more intermediaries. In the absence of such intermediaries, the initiand would see no reason why he should believe the *aguma's* recital of his war deeds nor his claims to greatness and why he should honour pledges made to a stranger. Williams shows that rude questioning of the *aguma's* authority, by young men in a position analogous to that of the initiand, was a regular part of the ritual (1930: 190). There is, however, a counterpart to these challenges which appears less clearly from Williams' account. I was told it was not enough for the *aguma* to protest his own war deeds; there must also be other war leaders present who will affirm that the *aguma* is speaking the truth. One gathers from Williams' account that there were two of these at the ceremony he attended (p. 189–90). He quotes one *aguma* as saying that these two intermediaries 'remembered his exploits better than he did himself'. The *aguma* then pretended to use these men as prompters. Whatever the two intermediaries were called upon to say or do,

A [See p. 135, Cat. 431--Analyst]

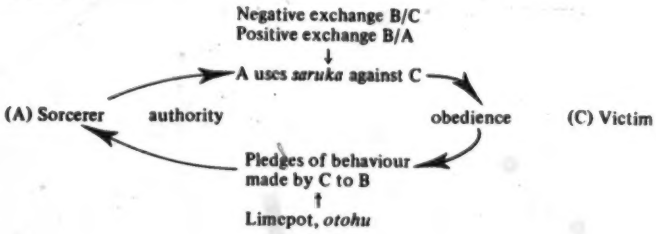
729 they would always add credibility to the words of the *aguma*, as their authority
881 would not be questioned by the initiand.
[537] The effect of this ritual would be to place the *aguma* in a very exalted position. The initiand would see that someone he regarded as an authority figure deferred humbly and showed his admiration to the *aguma*. The *aguma's* social distance thus increased the awe initiands felt before him and made the pledges all the more binding. We may express this transaction by the following exchange cycle:

MODEL 31



754 If the initiate should b[illegible]k a pledge, the wronged person may call upon
626 a sorcerer whose position l[illegible]ve suggested to be symbolically equivalent to that
[628] of the *aguma*. The Orokaiva never seems to use sorcery directly upon the person he wishes to punish, but always goes to a village on the periphery of his social universe, where he retains a sorcerer for a fee. Later on, when the victim of the sorcery (C) recognises the wrong he has done to the angered person (B), he will offer the latter some reparation. The latter will then ask the sorcerer (A) to cease pursuing the victim. We note that the exchange cycle thus set up is homologous with model 31:

MODEL 32



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5. *The Message of the Sacred Flutes*

We are now in a position to analyse Williams' data on the *otohu*. Recent theoretical advances in anthropology help us to a fairly easy solution to the problem of the *otohu* by following up a clue Williams threw away as insignificant. Williams was actually very close to the solution I now propose. He recognised that the explanation of the *otohu* is to be found in the ritual of initiation. He also recognised that Chinnery's and Beaver's explanation of initiation, (viz. that it educates by showing initiands the terrifying power of the spirits), 'does not lay sufficient stress on the actual paraphernalia, viz. the bullroarers and flutes, which play a more important part in the ceremony than would appear' (1930: 195). Finally, Williams records (*ibid.*, 185) that in some localities such as Wasida, one of the duet of flutes is actually called *otohu* and the other *e* (= mother). Though this usage is only local, it nevertheless gives us a crucial insight into the significance of the word *otohu*.

Seeing that the Wasida people used the same word for the mental qualities known as *otohu* and the larger and lower-pitched of the pair of sacred flutes, it is useful to inquire whether some symbolic equivalence exists between these mental qualities and these objects. The question falls into two parts. First, we have to explain why there should be any association between a flute and a set of social virtues. Secondly, we have to explain why the flute called *otohu*, which is symbolically equivalent to a set of moral virtues, should be played in antiphony to another flute called *e*. As for the first question, Williams reports that these flutes are never seen but only heard by the uninitiated and that they are regarded as voices of the spirits or *embahi*. The initiated have seen the *embahi* and are allowed to see and play the sacred flutes. They have made the acquaintance of the world of primal ancestors who enunciated and established the moral rules of social behaviour. As children they were taught to obey these rules, but as initiates they have experienced a mystic unity with the deities who established them. The sacred flutes, being voices of the spirits, have communicated these rules in their spiritual essence. Now an *otohu embo* (a man of good character, ibid., p. 205) is a man who lives according to the message he has received from the sacred flutes. The connection between the flutes and the set of social virtues is therefore not difficult to establish.

Secondly, why should the flute called *otohu* be played in antiphony to a flute called *e*? To answer this question let us first recall that according to Williams' own evidence (*ibid.*, 185), the Orokaiva classify one of this pair of flutes – always the larger and lower-pitched one – as masculine and the other as feminine. If the latter is equated to 'mother', then what kinsman is associated with the masculine flute? It seems most plausible that the masculine flute should be symbolically equivalent to the mother's brother, as it is he who acts as initiator of the novice and is thus, on the social level, the mediator between the latter and the spirit world. He teaches the initiand to play the flutes, he gives him medicines which ensure success in adult roles, and finally he presents him with the ornament called *otohu*. The association here is clear enough, but see model 34 on p. 187.A

Throughout the Orokaiva world we find the opposition of the male and female principle: between killing and nurture, bush and garden, victim and taro

A [See Category 431--Analyst]

The mother and mother's brother, being the most harmonious, gentle and affectionate male/female couple known to the Orokaiva, are the most suited for the task of mediating between the fearsome spirit world and the human being. The two initiatory flutes are therefore identifed with them.

How are the *otohu* ornaments connected with (*a*) the moral qualities and (*b*) the flute of the same name? The first part of this question was answered convincingly by Williams, as we have seen. But how are *otohu* ornaments symbolically equivalent to flutes? It is relevant to recall the difference between the two identity symbols *otohu* and *hae*. Ideally, the latter is transmitted in the patriline, the former in the matriline. All other differences (e.g. that the *hae* is attached to the corporate group and the *otohu* to the exchange system) follow from the mode of transmission.

The common characteristic of initiation ceremony, sacred flutes and *otohu* ornaments is that they all ideally derive from uterine kin or, in any case, that they have no necessary connection with the clan. Initiation pries the novice loose from early over-attachment to the clan and confronts him with the more adventurous, less secure world of the exchange system (*mine*). This applies equally to girls and boys. The rigours of this new arena are very effectively dramatised by the *aguma* whose recital emphasises that it is meritorious for the *otohu embo* to kill enemies. The same message is conveyed in a different way by the mother's brother whose role includes the gift of black magic (*saruka*) to his nephew. The ornament, *saruka* and other presentations come to the nephew not of right, but in the form of *mine*, in exchange for help and obedience offered to the mother's brother and gifts made by the novice's family.

The existence of two identity symbols, *hae* and *otohu*, side by side, indicates the strong emphasis placed by Orokaiva culture upon social relationships outside the corporate group. Among the neighbouring Baruga, whose culture closely resembles the Orokaiva, but who are more strongly patrilineal, we find only one identity symbol, the *kotopo*, which serves both as *hae* (lineage emblem) and as *otohu* (honorific ornament). Initiation is here carried out by the clan, introduces the novice to full clan membership, but carries no implications for participation in a wider network.

The *otohu* flute is a voice from the spirit world, mediated through the mother's brother. This voice communicates a certain moral order. The initiand hears the flutes but at that time makes no response. If he is later presented with an *otohu* ornament, he must make pledges. The ornament, as it is thrown back and forth over his head, communicates the same message as the flute but this time the novice responds to the voice. It is thus that he makes the ornament into a symbol of his identity.

6. Otohu *and* Hambo *Compared*

There are many resemblances between *otohu* and other *hambo*. They are made from largely the same materials. They are all, together with *di* (feathers) made accessible to men and women at the time of initiation, as soon as they have seen the *embahi*. Yet there are also many differences both in significance and in transactional custom. First of all, *otohu* may be worn on any important occasion, but *hambo* only during a dance or in other ceremonial contexts.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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431 of the 'husband' who either gives a woman in exchange (direct marriage
121 exchange) or else makes some kind of reparation for having deprived his
562 exchange partner (generalised marriage exchange).
582

REFERENCES

824 1. Erikson, describing 'the beginnings of identity' in the adolescent, comes
571 rather close to what I have in mind in this chapter: 'The emerging identity bridges the stages of childhood when the bodily self and the parental images are given their cultural connotation: and it bridges the stage of young adulthood, when a variety of social roles become available and, in fact, increasingly coercive.' (1963: 235).

881 2. A person who receives a token is referred to in this chapter as an 'initiate', as Williams makes it very clear the the bestowal of the token is not a necessary part of initiation, and comes after the ceremony which makes an 'inistion' into an 'initiate'.

000 3. I am using Beaver's spelling, as Beaver (1920) is the source for Williams' and my own information about *kortopo*, but Williams spells the word *kotopo*.

of the dead remained basically unchanged, Christian burial rites and cemeteries are generally used in the belief that they are efficacious in controlling ghosts. Girls were "shown to the people" after initiation, preferably on the mission station during the Easter dances. The kere which was a women's initiation dance, was also performed on a mission occasion (the celebration of St. Barnabas Day, in honour of the patron saint of this station).

What was the motive of mission teachers introducing a new form of initiation ritual to the Orokaiva? This extramural activity, performed in the dead of night, signified a little more than the intertribal status rivalry analysed earlier in this chapter. The text of the songs gives no obvious clues to their significance at the present time. Though it was made up of at least four or five languages, due to diffusion of the cycle through the Northern District, I managed to collect a translation of most of it during a tour of Port Moresby when we visited knowledgeable members of various Musa River tribes. The songs evoke a series of phases in a woman's life, stating symbolically her role in initiation, courtship, marriage, childbearing and feasting. They are very rich in symbolic content which is not relevant here. But they contain no message that can be related to any modern millennial or cargo cult. During a visit to Uiaku, in the Collingwood Bay district, my wife found that the old women in that village knew the songs but not the younger ones. This points to diffusion from the Musa to the Collingwood Bay district some decades ago. All this evidence confirms the mission teacher's own explanation given to me that he introduced this cycle in order to keep old traditions alive, in order to give more strength to the younger generation which had not been properly initiated.

I was impressed by the strong religious sentiment displayed by the performers especially in the very first dances. They might at that time be doubtful about dance movements and words but not about the demeanour appropriate to the impersonation of spirits. At the very first practise, even the young girls knew the right bearing, intonation and rhythm. This was not truly the introduction of an alien ritual; the purpose and the strategy could not have been more familiar.

The involvement of my wife in this initiatory ritual helped to lend it the ambiguity that was evidently intended. It was not the purpose of the mission teacher to set up this pagan ritual in opposition to Christianity but rather to bring about its continuity in a Christian order. I have already shown in earlier chapters that the Christian dispensation is conceived as not only a religious but also and importantly a socio-economic one--that Christianity, wealth and wage labour are perceived as part of the same complex. If it can be made to accommodate women's initiation ceremonies (after jettisoning, of course, those aspects to which the clergy takes exception) future generations will have the strength of the forefathers. This desire for greater strength, in a physical and numerical as well as spiritual sense, was often expressed to me.

CHAPTER IV: Acculturation at the Time of Resettlement

My concern in this chapter is not to discuss acculturation in general, which has been done already in earlier chapters, but to consider the variations in degree of acculturation that existed between individuals and groups in the sample villages. This is an issue of some importance as the main line of change has not been so much that wholly new culture elements were introduced between 1951 and the present (though there were some of these, too) but that culture elements accepted by an élite in 1951 have become generally accepted today, while other elements again are now in the stage of being accessible to an élite of the younger generation.

There are many innovations which can be adopted by Orokaiva only on a village basis. I have already referred to the changes in house design; such changes were never made individually, though less conspicuous changes (the use of nails rather than bark twine) may be made by an individual. The abandonment of initiation ceremonies can likewise occur only on the basis of a corporate decision. At Sivepe they were abandoned after the war; on the other hand, girls' puberty seclusion and the subsequent ostentatious "coming out party" continued. Also, male initiation was widely replaced by a custom called a "birthday party" which was given to every boy of the age of nine or ten. Similarly, the inclusion of money in bridewealth is an innovation which, once made in a homogeneous community, is bound to become standard practise. In Sivepe the first such payment was amassed in 1950 and the median payment has been $24 since, without much upward trend, while in Inonda the leading family raised the rate well above this.

On the other hand, much change was the result of individual decisions which were gradually followed by enough individuals to make them into a change of general norm. Thus, girls' puberty seclusion used to last from three to six months; today, it often lasts no longer than three weeks while in Inonda, I was told, it is still shorter. In Sivepe, girls are usually still at school when the first menses begin. The Australian school teacher was most disturbed about the mysterious disappearance of his senior girls at this time and their dubious excuses when they returned to school, which however they did not always do. Until I told him, he did not fully realise that puberty seclusion was still practised in the villages; nobody had told him as they feared he might try to stamp out this custom. Some individuals keep their daughters secluded for months, even today.

At the time of the eruption no baptisms had yet occurred at Inonda, and only one, as far as I can find out, in Sivepe--and this man settled at Agenahambo later after a failed marriage. For the Inonda people, the nearest school was at Seva, and one boy (now the

796 The same pattern is found in the dancing which occurs nightly
197 before a major feast is held or before certain initiatory rites (like
the kere) are concluded. These are now referred to as "practises,"
[535] even though they are undoubtedly ritual acts in their own right. It
is also significant that the Orokaiva seasonal rites have been fitted
in as part of the Christmas and Easter observances, apparently as an
exotic appanedage, but in fact as a means of preserving traditional
religious obligations, even though in a changed form.

659 The same service of two masters is sometimes seen in the secular
sphere. People built lavatories, on official instructions, long before
[514] they dared to use them (for fear of sorcery). At Kendata, an hour's
[754] walk from Sivepe, I saw a village with new houses, built on the govern-
ment's instructions, but I was told nobody lived there except when
[361] there was a visit from the patrol officer. There are many such villages
in the Managalasi district. Here, government instructions are being
complied with but customary patterns have persisted. In Sivepe, not
very much show needed to be put on for the patrol officer. The place
was cleaned before he arrived, of course, but not significantly more
so than happened every week.

123 It is true that certain things were concealed from me in Sivepe,
but these fell largely into some simple and reasonable categories:
secrets known only to initiated men, secrets known only to members
of a family or of the Seho clan. It was not a practise of the people
to pretend to adhere to a custom they had abandoned or to pretend to
have abandoned what they were still practising. In the early days of
881 our stay, this did happen; it took some months before we discovered
that girls were secluded upon their first menstruation and then ceremoni-
ally exhibited. We were told this custom no longer existed. But then,
we had referred to the custom with reference to what Williams said
about it; and in that form, perhaps, it was not or no longer practised
[841] in Sivepe. Later, I was told that if the ceremony was not performed
[783] girls could not control their menses; there would be no way of stemming
the flow of blood and everything would be polluted. Thus, the ritual
has persisted. Whether full-grown girls, completely naked, are carried
through villages at the present time I very much doubt (viz Williams,
1930: 207). I was told that these customs lasted until the second
534 world war and then were abandoned. But I found the word "abandoned"
782 always a dangerous one; the calling down of spirits with bullroarers
178 in preparation for a feast (viz. Williams) was also, according to
Sivepe informants, an "abandoned" custom; yet it happened in both
Inonda and Urarituru (a mile from Sasembata mission station) in 1967.
It was true that it had not been done in Sivepe for some time--not
since the middle fifties--and that there was no immediate intention
of doing it again. On the other hand, Sivepe knew the use of bull-
roarers as a means of calling down spirits which would then be
present at a feast and give this feast magical potency. For the time
being, Sivepe people evidently feel that this procedure is unnecessary
for the achievement of their immediate ends but it is still part of the
store of available possibilities should a need appear to arise.

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

But for most everyday purposes, the cooperative alliance is even smaller and does not extend beyond the three-generation family.

Relations with uterines, affines, and more distant agnates (that is, those beyond the lineage, and those who are resident in other villages) follow the pattern of competitive exchange. An example of what this implies would be the role of mother's brother as officiator at initiations. Elsewhere, (Schwimmer, 1970b) I show that ideologically, he is the proper person for the office, but that the father's brother and even the father would do as well. The mother's brother is not obliged to act; he is paid if he acts; furthermore he will act only if prior to an initiation, the neophyte involved has obliged his uncle by rendering him small services and being pleasant to him. Certainly the mo/bro si/so relationship is a warm affectionate one, but it is explicitly free from unconditional obligation. It is, in fact, the first formal relationship into which a person enters, where prestations on both sides are by free choice.

How can we explain that, at least in Sasembata, the Orokaiva classify guest friends with the sibling group (by applying the terms *apa/eambo* to them), whereas the Tangu use an affinal idiom? The answer is that siblingship has different connotations in the two tribes. Burridge (1969) emphasizes, above all, the amity that must govern the relationship between senior and junior siblings among the Tangu. If the junior sibling becomes unduly competitive, it is not held against him, but the relationship is redefined so that he becomes a *mwerkindang* – a competitor instead of a subordinate and protégé. The Orokaiva do not permit such a change in status; the younger brother must obey or sever his relations with his family. Moreover, the *apa/eambo* relationship is not confined to the cooperative alliance but includes distant agnates and all uterines within the exogamous group. A good deal of competition and exchange normally occurs between such kin, although the ideology of the *apa/eambo* relationship is basically that of a corporate group pooling resources for the support and protection of its members.

Secondly, the custom of classifying guest friends with siblings is not general among Orokaiva; the Sangara use the term *namei*. Furthermore, terminology is as much an ideological device as a reflection of reality. Use of *apa/eambo* means that people should behave *as if* they were siblings; that is, make free gifts instead of exchange gifts. These terms may be used when one seeks to extract a presentation from a comparative stranger, in which case they mean little more than an appeal *ad misericordiam*. In an hereditary friendship in which it is unusual to make claims, the terms signify that the gifts made to a visiting friend are not repayable but free. Certainly, it would be considered wrong to press claims on the basis of such gifts. On the other hand, the host is expected (*not* merely permitted) to make a return visit, and if he does not present gifts on that occasion, he will certainly be the subject of gossip and loss of reputation.

In considering the manner in which these gifts are given, Sahlins'

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572 Relationships of this sort are sometimes intertribal as women abducted by enemies were in the habit of maintaining contact with each other, and such contact was inherited by their sons and daughters. When men belong to an *otavo* relationship (see p. 67 below), their wives address each other as *jao*.

602 (c) *Simbo*. Outside the cooperative group, social relations (even with consanguines) are spoken of as voluntary. This applies especially to distant consanguines and non-resident consanguines. Thus, the kin category *simbo* must contain many members, if purely genealogical criteria are to be used. If two consanguines share no plant emblem and are related through siblings of the opposite sex, they fall within the *simbo* category (the term is not precisely equivalent to cross-cousins). There is no limit on kinship distance, and persons recognized as *simbo* may be cousins several times removed. Often, it is impossible to reconstruct the genealogical connection. Like Orokaiva kin links, this one is simply inherited from generation to generation (bilaterally, in this case).

As one cannot get informants to list more than ten or twelve *simbo* families dispersed in a number of villages, one must assume that *simbo* links, like those of hereditary friendship, are often forgotten. On the other hand, one may always rediscover a *simbo* while on a journey, so that there is a reservoir of unused links that can be revived. In general, however, a relationship can be relied upon only if it is kept alive by periodic contact.

[582] The best translation of *simbo* would probably be: potential preferential marriage partner. While the primary meaning refers to a cross-sexual relationship, the male *simbo* have a special kind of bond which fits neither the cooperative nor the competitive exchange category. Literally, *simbo* is a marriage arrangement made when a girl has gone through the ceremony of menstrual seclusion and *kogumbari*,[8] but is not yet marriageable. Two aspects of the relationship between male *simbo* which are always stressed are the great love *simbo* have towards one another, and the rigorous taboo observances that are customary and strictly enforced.

[592]

[584]

The taboos resemble those practised between *dambo* (brothers-in-law); this is reasonable because if a man marries his female *simbo*, her brother becomes that man's *dambo*. The same taboos exist against mentioning the *simbo*'s name. All quarreling in the presence of a *simbo* is strictly forbidden. If a quarrel occurs nonetheless and *simbo* orders one to stop, one must obey or else pay a pig as compensation. If *simbo* touches any of one's possessions, one must give that object to *simbo*. A request made by *simbo* cannot be refused. This last rule about possessions and requests does not apply to *dambo*.

[881] 8 The term means decoration and is applied to face-painting, dressing the head with feathers, the wearing of shell and bone ornaments, armlets, fur arm pendants, and the like. A boy or girl is first decorated on the occasion of initiation. The dressing up is then usually done by an expert in the clan and paid for by the parents. For details see Williams, 1930; Schwimmer, 1970b, 1970c.

26: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974
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the dead person. At ordinary harvest feasts and bride-wealth payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other vegetables. They are then subsidiary to taro and pigs, which are the main food gifts, but at mortuary feasts vast quantities are given, saved from the dead man's palms, which are made taboo until this feast. Dry coconut and areca are strewn on graves by affines of the deceased.

The distinctive features perceived by Orokaiva in each species should also be summarized. Coconut is believed to be a valuable adjunct to the diet of children and dogs (also chickens). In Orokaiva myths, its miraculous effect on children and dogs is often described. To the scientific observer this effect is natural enough as coconut is an important source of first-class protein for both children and dogs, who otherwise do not get much first-class protein. Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body not only to enhance beauty but also for its magical efficacy, for the purification of man-slayers (Williams, 1930: 175, 207), and for women who are being initiated or who welcome visitors at dances. In all such cases it is the task of a male to pour the coconut milk over the persons whose magical protection is intended.

Areca, a mildly hallucinogenic fruit, is chewed by women as much as by men. When friends are sitting together, it is shared in much the same way as beer among white Australians. People offer nuts to each other but expect to come out approximately even. Visitors from other villages expect to be offered areca by their hosts. Its main physiological effect is to create a dreamy amiability and to break down hostility that might otherwise exist. Its magical uses, mostly in association with some medicine of more specific purpose, are too many to enumerate. A girl carries a bunch of areca at the ceremony which ends her seclusion after first menstruation. She normally offers it to her man at lovers' meetings.

Although I have a number of coconut and areca myths on record, I shall discuss here only one, the fullest one, which illustrates my argument most clearly. A beautiful girl, noted for her remarkable breasts, had the misfortune of killing all the young men with whom she slept. Her breasts pricked and killed them.